

STATEMENT BY MR. RICHARD HOLBROOKE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

- - - -
JUNE 10, 1980

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT IN EAST TIMOR. IN THE SWIRL OF CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE RECENT HISTORY OF EAST TIMOR, THE DRAMATIC PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE IN IMPROVING CONDITIONS OF THE TIMORESE PEOPLE OVER THE PAST NINE MONTHS HAS NOT RECEIVED THE ATTENTION IT SHOULD.

U.S. INTERESTS IN INDONESIA

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY STATING THAT THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF VERY IMPORTANT CONCERNS OF THE UNITED STATES IN INDONESIA. INDONESIA, WITH A POPULATION OF 140 MILLION PEOPLE, IS THE FIFTH LARGEST NATION IN THE WORLD. IT HAS THE LARGEST MUSLIM POPULATION IN THE WORLD, IS A MODERATE MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, IS AN IMPORTANT OIL PRODUCER -- WHICH PLAYS A MODERATE ROLE WITHIN OPEC -- AND OCCUPIES A STRATEGIC POSITION ASTRIDE THE SEA LANES BETWEEN THE PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEANS. PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND OTHER PROMINENT INDONESIAN LEADERS HAVE PUBLICLY CALLED FOR THE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES IN IRAN. INDONESIA'S POSITION WITHIN THE ASSOCIATION OF

SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS -- ASEAN -- IS ALSO IMPORTANT AND IT HAS PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN SUPPORTING THAILAND AND MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF THAILAND IN THE FACE OF VIETNAM'S DESTABILIZING ACTIONS IN INDOCHINA. FINALLY, INDONESIA HAS PROVIDED HUMANE TREATMENT FOR OVER 50,000 INDOCHINESE REFUGEES AND TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN OFFERING AN ISLAND SITE AS AN ASEAN REFUGEE PROCESSING CENTER. INDONESIA IS, OF COURSE, IMPORTANT TO KEY U.S. ALLIES IN THE REGION, ESPECIALLY JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA.

WE HIGHLY VALUE OUR COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIA AND WE BELIEVE THAT THIS HAS ALLOWED US TO PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WITH RESPECT TO EAST TIMOR.

EAST TIMOR BACKGROUND

SINCE THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT DEPARTMENT WITNESSES HAVE APPEARED BEFORE THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, I WOULD LIKE VERY BRIEFLY TO REVIEW THE HISTORY OF THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE. IN 1974, FOLLOWING THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL, THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT BEGAN PREPARATIONS FOR RELINQUISHING CONTROL OF ITS COLONIES. SEVERAL POLITICAL FACTIONS EMERGED IN TIMOR, A PORTUGUESE COLONY FOR OVER 400 YEARS, LOCATED IN THE MIDST OF THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO. THE LARGEST OF THE FACTIONS, A MODERATE PARTY CALLED THE UNIDO DEMOCRATICA TIMORESE (UDT), SEIZED POWER ON ITS OWN IN AUGUST 1975 BUT WAS QUICKLY OVERTHROWN BY

FRETILIN, A MORE RADICAL GROUP MODELLED AFTER THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES. IN THE FACE OF A CIVIL WAR WHICH IT COULD NO LONGER CONTROL, PORTUGAL WITHDREW ITS ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. TO THIS DAY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS TIMOR TO BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF PORTUGAL AND THE PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTION OBLIGES PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES TO SAFEGUARD ITS RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE. WITH THE PORTUGUESE UNABLE TO CONTROL THE SITUATION AND CIVIL WAR BETWEEN FRETILIN AND UDT AND AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE FALL OF BOTH SAIGON AND PHNOM PENH EARLIER IN THE SAME YEAR, INDONESIA INCREASINGLY BECAME CONCERNED BY THE POTENTIAL FOR INSTABILITY IN ITS EASTERN REGION AND FRETILIN'S IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION. FRETILIN'S UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF THE "DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR" IN LATE NOVEMBER 1975 WAS INTERPRETED AS A SIGNIFICANT THREAT TO INDONESIAN SECURITY. IN DECEMBER 1975, AFTER RECEIVING A FORMAL REQUEST FROM ANTI-FRETILIN TIMORESE POLITICAL FACTIONS, INDONESIAN FORCES INTERVENED, DRIVING FRETILIN FROM THE MAJOR CITIES. FRETILIN, WHICH HAD RECEIVED ARMS AND SUPPORT FROM THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL GARRISON, FLED INTO THE HILLS TO CONTINUE FIGHTING THE INDONESIANS. IN JULY 1976, EAST TIMOR WAS FORMALLY INCORPORATED INTO INDONESIA. IT WAS NOT UNTIL LATE 1978 AND EARLY 1979 THAT CENTRALLY DIRECTED FRETILIN ARMED ACTIVITY WAS FULLY CONTAINED BY INDONESIAN MILITARY ACTIVITY AND CEASED TO POSE A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM.

SOME LIMITED GUERRILLA ACTIVITY STILL EXISTS IN REMOTE PARTS OF THE EASTERN SECTOR, BUT THE SMALL GROUPS ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO POSE A THREAT TO INDONESIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE OR THE GENERAL POPULATION. FRETILIN DOES, HOWEVER, CONTINUE ITS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY FROM ITS AFRICAN OFFICE AND THROUGH ITS REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK CITY.

U.S. POLICY AND THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT

THE MAJOR FOCUS OF U.S. POLICY HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE THE WELL-BEING OF THE TIMORESE PEOPLE. GREATER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS LONG TERM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO SUPPLEMENT INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT EFFORTS AND RESOURCES. WE HAD LONG URGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA PERMIT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSIST THE TIMORESE PEOPLE DIRECTLY. WE THUS WELCOMED THE INDONESIAN DECISION LAST YEAR TO INVITE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES (CRS) TO INITIATE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROGRAMS IN COOPERATION WITH THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS AND THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT. THE FIRST SHIPMENTS OF FOOD AND MEDICINES STARTED TO ARRIVE IN THE FALL.

I AM PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO REPORT DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS WITH MANY AREAS RETURNING TO NORMAL, AND I WISH TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND COMMEND THE EXCELLENT EFFORTS OF THE

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT AND ALL THOSE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS EFFORT WHICH HAS RESULTED IN THE SAVING OF MANY TIMORESE LIVES.

THE FACT THAT FOOD AND MEDICINES ARE REACHING THE PEOPLE IN NEED AND THAT CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED MARKEDLY HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY WESTERN VISITORS TO THE ISLAND IN RECENT MONTHS. FOR EXAMPLE, A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AND ACCOMPANIED BY OUR AMBASSADOR TO JAKARTA AND OUR AID MISSION DIRECTOR VISITED THE PROVINCE IN JANUARY. AN OFFICER FROM OUR EMBASSY SPENT TEN DAYS IN EAST TIMOR IN MARCH AND HAD A CHANCE TO OBSERVE THE RELIEF EFFORT IN GREAT DETAIL. THE AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR VISITED IN MAY AND OUR DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION -- MR. PAUL GARDNER, WHO IS HERE TODAY -- ALSO VISITED JUST TWO WEEKS AGO. IN ADDITION, OFFICIALS FROM GENEVA AND NEW YORK REPRESENTING BOTH ICRC AND CRS WERE ABLE TO EVALUATE THEIR PROGRAMS ON THE GROUND EARLIER THIS YEAR. A NUMBER OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS HAVE TRAVELED TO EAST TIMOR AS WELL -- EIGHT DURING THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, ASSOCIATED PRESS, THE FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, AND GERMAN AND FRENCH NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION (SEE ANNEX B FOR A LIST OF FOREIGN VISITORS TO EAST TIMOR). THESE VISITS TESTIFY TO THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO OPEN EAST TIMOR INCREASINGLY TO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS SO THAT THEY CAN SEE FIRST HAND THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED.

THE CONCLUSIONS OF ALL THESE OUTSIDE VISITORS ARE ESSENTIALLY IN AGREEMENT -- RELIEF IS GETTING TO THE PEOPLE AND CONDITIONS ARE IMPROVING. LET ME CITE SOME EXAMPLES. IN THE VILLAGE OF UALULUHUR, IN THE SOUTH, PEOPLE COMING OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS BACK TO THE VILLAGE EARLY LAST YEAR WERE DYING AT A REPORTED RATE OF FIVE TO SIX A DAY. TWO MONTHS AGO, THE DEATH RATE IN THAT VILLAGE WAS ONE OR TWO A MONTH AND LIMITED TO THE ELDERLY. IN ANOTHER VILLAGE -- ILLIOMAR -- WITH A POPULATION OF 5,600, THE DEATH RATE HAS DECLINED OVER THE PAST YEAR FROM TWO OR THREE A DAY TO ONE ABOUT EVERY OTHER MONTH, WHICH WOULD APPEAR CLOSE TO THE NORMAL RATE.

THERE ARE STILL PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, AND SOME AREAS OF THE PROVINCE WHICH NEED CONTINUED ASSISTANCE. WHILE CONDITIONS IN THE WESTERN AREA HAVE IMPROVED CONSIDERABLY, THERE ARE STILL SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN PARTS OF THE SOUTH-CENTRAL AND EASTERN PORTIONS OF THE PROVINCE, PRIMARILY IN THE TRIANGLE FORMED BY BAUCAU, VIQUEQUE AND LOS PALOS.

BOTH THE ICRC AND CRS HAVE RESPONDED TO THE CONTINUED NEED FOR ASSISTANCE BY EXTENDING THEIR PROGRAMS. THE ICRC WILL CONTINUE ITS OPERATIONS THROUGH MID-OCTOBER 1980 AND CRS PLANS TO CONTINUE THIS PHASE OF ITS PROGRAM INTO THE FALL. IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS THE COMBINED PROGRAMS REACHED THE APPROXIMATELY 300,000 PEOPLE IN THE PROVINCE

WHO WERE IN NEED OF FOOD AND/OR MEDICAL CARE. THE EXTENDED ICRC/CRS PROGRAMS WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST SOME OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ORIGINAL GROUP BUT HAVE STOPPED SUPPORT IN AREAS WHERE CONDITIONS HAVE RETURNED TO NORMAL AND HAVE ADDED NEW VILLAGES. ICRC IS NOW PROVIDING MEDICAL AND FOOD ASSISTANCE TO NINE VILLAGES WITH A POPULATION OF ABOUT 55,000 PEOPLE AND IS PROVIDING MEDICAL CARE ONLY TO ANOTHER FIVE VILLAGES CONSISTING OF ABOUT 33,000 PEOPLE. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE RECEIVING ICRC CARE THROUGH OCTOBER WILL THUS BE ABOUT 88,000 PEOPLE. CRS IS DIRECTING ITS EXTENDED PROGRAM TOWARDS APPROXIMATELY 100,000 PEOPLE, WITH ABOUT 40,000 PEOPLE RECEIVING EMERGENCY FOOD IN THE EAST CENTRAL SECTOR AND 60,000 RECEIVING ONLY SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD IN OTHER PARTS OF THE ISLAND. CRS IS ALSO OPERATING TRAVELING MEDICAL TEAMS TO COMPLEMENT ITS FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM.

TO DATE THE U.S. HAS PROVIDED \$13.7 MILLION IN CASH AND COMMODITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE CRS AND ICRC PROGRAMS. A BREAKDOWN OF OUR SUPPORT IS ATTACHED TO THIS STATEMENT. IN RESPONSE TO THE ICRC'S LATEST APPEAL FOR ITS EXTENDED PROGRAM, AID'S OFFICE OF FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE WILL LIKELY PROVIDE ANOTHER GRANT OF \$500,000. U.S. SUPPORT, ALONG WITH THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS, NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD ENABLE THE ICRC AND CRS TO COMPLETE THEIR EXTENDED PROGRAMS.

ALLEGATIONS OF DIVERSIONS OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CONTINUES ITS SERIOUS EFFORT TO CHECK INTO REPORTS OF DIVERSIONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, INCLUDING THOSE MADE BY A GROUP OF TIMORESE NOW LIVING ABROAD WHO VISITED WASHINGTON EARLIER THIS YEAR. THEIR CHARGES MORE OR LESS REFLECT RUMORS CIRCULATING IN DILI. PART OF THE PROBLEM IN TRYING TO VERIFY THESE ALLEGATIONS IS THAT THEY ARE BASED ON SECOND OR THIRD HAND INFORMATION, SELDOM HAVE ANY DETAILS WHICH CAN BE CHECKED, AND ARE OFTEN VERY VAGUE. MOREOVER, THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE OPEN TO DOUBT BECAUSE THE DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN NEEDY AREAS SIMPLY COULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF FOOD AND MEDICINE WAS NOT REACHING THE PROPER RECIPIENTS.

IT ALSO APPEARS THAT MANY OF THE ALLEGATIONS REFER TO THE PERIOD BEFORE THE ICRC/CRS PROGRAMS BEGAN LAST FALL. IN OTHER CASES, ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF POOR INFORMATION. FOR EXAMPLE, A RESPECTED LOCAL FIGURE IN DILI TOLD CRS IN MARCH THAT HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT FOOD DIVERSIONS AT BAUCAU BY THE MILITARY, BASING HIS CONCERN ON INFORMATION HE HAD RECEIVED FROM CHURCH SOURCES IN THE DISTRICT. WHEN CRS WENT DIRECTLY TO THE ORIGINAL CHURCH SOURCES OF THE STATEMENT, THEY INDICATED THAT THE CHARGE WAS UNFOUNDED AND THAT WHILE THE MILITARY PHYSICALLY CONDUCTED DISTRIBUTION, IT WAS CARRIED OUT IN CONJUNCTION

WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF CHURCH OFFICIALS AND VILLAGE LEADERS.

A U.S. EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER WHO VISITED EAST TIMOR FOR TEN DAYS IN MARCH ALSO LOOKED EXTENSIVELY INTO THE REPORTS OF DIVERSIONS AND CAME AWAY WITH NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT CHARGES OF WIDESPREAD PROBLEMS. HE WAS TOLD BY CRS AND ICRC EXPERTS IN TIMOR THAT ANY LOSSES, INCLUDING THOSE FROM ROUTINE SPOILAGE AND ACCIDENTS, WERE WELL BELOW 10-15%, A LOW RATE OF LOSS IN ANY INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT. IF THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS QUESTIONS ON HOW WE PROCEEDED IN CHECKING THESE REPORTS, MR. GARDNER IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILS.

THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT WHAT ABUSES HAVE OCCURRED APPEAR CAUSED BY SEVERAL FACTORS, ACCORDING TO THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE RELIEF EFFORT:

-- TERRITORIAL TROOPS ASSIGNED THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE WERE AT ONE TIME OFTEN DEPENDENT ON THE SURROUNDING POPULATION FOR THEIR SUPPORT. IF A SCARCITY OF FOOD AND WATER EXISTED, THE DISTRICT, SUB-DISTRICT AND VILLAGE LEVEL FORCES WERE SOMETIMES IN ABOUT THE SAME POSITION AS THE PEOPLE AROUND THEM. IT IS THUS PROBABLE THAT WHEN FOOD SUPPLIES WERE FIRST DROPPED INTO REMOTE AREAS, LOCAL MILITARY AND POLICE TOOK WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE THEIR SHARE OF SOME OF THE PRODUCTS FOR PERSONAL CONSUMPTION.

-- INITIALLY WHEN CONDITIONS REQUIRED RAPID MOVEMENT OF FOOD, CRS DID NOT HAVE THE MANPOWER TO CREATE A SYSTEMATIC RECORD OF WHICH FAMILIES AND WHICH PERSONS RECEIVED FOOD. THIS HAD TO BE LEFT TO THE LOCAL MILITARY COMMANDERS AND IT IS PROBABLE THAT IN SOME AREAS THERE HAVE BEEN ABUSES EARLY IN THE PROGRAM. WHEN CRS LEARNED OF SUCH ABUSES, HOWEVER, IT REPORTED THEM TO APPROPRIATE INDONESIAN OFFICIALS AND PROMPT ACTION WAS TAKEN. IN DECEMBER, CRS WAS ABLE TO INSTITUTE A DETAILED RECORD KEEPING SYSTEM.

-- PAYMENT IN KIND WAS SOMETIMES MADE TO LOCAL PEOPLE, THEMSELVES USUALLY IN NEED OF FOOD, WHO HELPED RELIEF WORKERS AND THE MILITARY UNLOAD FOOD FROM DELIVERY BARGES AND HELICOPTERS AND GUARD IT BEFORE IT COULD BE DISTRIBUTED.

BASED ON THE INFORMATION THEY HAVE, ICRC BELIEVES THAT LOSSES ARE UNDER 15% AND CRS PUTS THE FIGURE UNDER 5%. I WOULD ALSO NOTE THAT NONE OF THE RECENT VISITORS TO EAST TIMOR -- DIPLOMATS, JOURNALISTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELIEF WORKERS -- HAVE FOUND ANY EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT ALLEGATIONS OF WIDESPREAD DIVERSIONS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE REAL PROOF IS IN THE GREAT IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR THE PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGES WHERE THE ASSISTANCE IS GOING.

EMIGRATION

ANOTHER PROBLEM IN EAST TIMOR, UNRELATED TO THE RELIEF EFFORT BUT OF GENERAL INTEREST, IS THAT OF FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIAL OFFICIALS AND OTHERS WHO WISH TO LEAVE EAST TIMOR BUT HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DO SO. THIS PROBLEM INVOLVES NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA BUT ALSO THE GOVERNMENTS OF AUSTRALIA AND PORTUGAL AND THE ICRC. IT IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF INDONESIA REFUSING TO ALLOW PEOPLE TO LEAVE OR DEMANDING LARGE ILLEGAL PAYMENTS FROM PEOPLE BEFORE THEY CAN DEPART. ONE MAJOR DIFFICULTY IS THAT INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL DO NOT MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND ARE NOT ABLE TO SIT DOWN TO DISCUSS HOW TO WORK OUT FORMAL PROCEDURES FOR THE REPATRIATION OF PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS AND THE REUNITING OF DIVIDED FAMILIES. PORTUGAL HAS SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT ENGAGING IN DIRECT DISCUSSIONS WITH INDONESIA SINCE THAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS RECOGNITION OF INDONESIA'S INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR AND THE ISSUE IS SENSITIVE DOMESTICALLY. THE PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER, IN AN INTERVIEW ON MAY 9 WITH THE LISBON WEEKLY EXPRESSO, STATED THAT "THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF EAST TIMOR CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT CONTACTING THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES." HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROBLEM WAS A DELICATE ONE FOR PORTUGAL. THE 1976 CONSTITUTION STATES THAT "PORTUGAL SHALL REMAIN BOUND BY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, TO PROMOTE AND SAFEGUARD THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE OF (EAST) TIMOR."

NEVERTHELESS, EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY ASKED THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT TO RELAY INDONESIA'S WILLINGNESS TO RETURN SOME 3,000 FORMER PORTUGUESE CIVIL SERVANTS. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF A PORTUGUESE RESPONSE. THE ICRC IS ALSO WORKING TO ASSIST IN REPATRIATION OF A SMALLER NUMBER OF TIMORESE TO PORTUGAL. AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA ARE IN CONTACT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION MEASURES AS WELL.

BY NOTING SOME OF THE FACTORS WHICH COMPLICATE THIS PROBLEM, I DO NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST THAT THE U.S. IS NOT CONCERNED ABOUT THIS SITUATION. WE ARE. HOWEVER, OUR FIRST CONCERN HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT AND FOLLOW ON SUPPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. WE CAN HELP WITH THESE PROBLEMS AND ARE DOING SO. IT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE U.S. TO ASSIST WITH THE EMIGRATION PROBLEM, SINCE NONE OF THESE PEOPLE ARE COMING TO THE U.S. AND THE PARTIES INVOLVED MUST REACH AGREEMENT IN ACCORD WITH THEIR OWN LAWS AND POLITICAL REALITY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THIS PROBLEM CLOSELY AND IF ANY OF THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED BELIEVE WE CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE, WE ARE PREPARED TO DO SO.

THE FUTURE

AS THE EMERGENCY RELIEF EFFORT ACHIEVES ITS OBJECTIVES AND PHASES OUT THIS FALL, WHAT NEXT? LOCAL OFFICIALS, ICRC REPRESENTATIVES AND THE TIMORESE CLERGY AGREED THAT THE CURRENT RELIEF PROGRAMS SHOULD SOON BE REPLACED BY FOOD-FOR-WORK AND SIMILAR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS TO AVOID THE RURAL POPULATION'S BECOMING DEPENDENT UPON HAND-OUTS. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY MOVING AHEAD WITH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, WHICH WE HOPE TO SUPPORT. MAJOR EMPHASIS IS ON AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION AND ROADS. AREAS WHICH NEED GREATER ATTENTION ARE HEALTH IRRIGATION AND WATER RESOURCES AND HOUSING. AT A MEETING IN JAKARTA IN MARCH, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO INITIATE A SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WITH AN EXTRA INPUT OF RESOURCES OVER THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. OUR AMBASSADOR IN JAKARTA AND THE AID MISSION DIRECTOR HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WITH GOI OFFICIALS POSSIBLE U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCE. SPECIFIC AREAS WHERE WE MIGHT BE OF HELP ARE MALARIA CONTROL, PROBABLY THE MOST SERIOUS HEALTH PROBLEM, AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS SUCH AS ROADS, FISH PONDS AND REFORESTATION. CRS IS ALSO DISCUSSING WITH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAMS, USING PL-480, AFTER ITS RELIEF PROGRAM ENDS IN THE FALL. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE MOMENTUM OF THE RELIEF EFFORT BE MAINTAINED BY TIMELY AND ADEQUATE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN HELPING RESOLVE THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS WHICH GREW OUT OF THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF EAST TIMOR SINCE 1975. WE APPRECIATE THE SUPPORT WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM CONGRESS AND LARGE NUMBERS OF AMERICANS FOR CONTINUED U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO EAST TIMOR RELIEF AND SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCE. BY CONTINUING TO WORK TOGETHER IN COOPERATION WITH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN ENSURE THAT REMAINING HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS ARE RESOLVED.

AID SUPPORT FOR THE
EAST TIMOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Summary
As of June, 1980

AID is providing financial and/or community support to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Catholic Relief Services (CRS) for their short-term (12 months) programs in East Timor Province. A summary of the USG/AID support being provided is as follows:

A. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

Disaster Relief Funds Provided

- Initial Contribution (June 1979):	\$ 1,000,000
- Second Contribution (Sept 1979):	300,000
- Third Contribution (Dec 1979):	<u>500,000</u>
Total:	\$ 1,800,000

B. Catholic Relief Services (CRS)

1. Disaster Relief Funds Provided:

- Initial Contribution (June 1979):	\$ 671,000
- Second Contribution (Sept 1979):	150,000
- Third Contribution (Dec 1979):	751,100
- Fourth Contribution (March 1980):	<u>2,000,000</u>

2. PL 480 Title II Outreach Funds Provided: (September 1979)	<u>775,180</u>
Sub-Total:	\$ 4,347,280

3. PL 480 Title II Commodities:

- Corn Soya Blend (CSB) - 1,134 MT:	\$ 547,722
- Non-Fat Dry Milk - 5.4 MT :	2,986
- Rice - 2,000 MT :	1,078,000
- Corn Soya Milk - 5,280 MT :	2,814,240
- Corn - 12,392 MT :	<u>3,110,392</u>

Sub-Total: \$ 7,553,340 *

4. Total CRS Funds & Commodities:	\$11,900,620
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C. <u>Grand Total USG/AID Assistance (A + B)</u>	<u>\$13,700,620</u>
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* Includes cost of ocean freight from U.S. to Indonesia

PARTIAL LIST OF
OUTSIDE VISITORS TO EAST TIMOR

1977

Congressman William Goodling, April 10-12, 1977
accompanied by two members of the US Embassy staff

Congresswoman Helen Meyner, April 15-16, 1977
accompanied by staff member John Holstine and
the Political Counsellor of the US Embassy

Minister and Political Officer of the Australian Embassy,
April 27-30, 1977

Richard Carleton, Australian Television Journalist,
September 1977

1978

New Zealand Defense Attache, January 5-9, 1978

Political Officer of the US Embassy accompanied by
Defense Attache, April 18-21, 1978

US Defense Attache, July 20-22, 1978

Ambassadors to Jakarta from the ASEAN countries
accompanying President Suharto, July 16-17, 1978

Ambassadors to Jakarta from the United States, Australia,
Canada, New Zealand, Bangladesh, South Korea, Egypt,
Papua New Guinea, India, and Japan along with a number
of journalists accompanying Foreign Minister Mochtar,
September 6-8, 1978

Counselor for Development Assistance of the Australian
Embassy, November 8-11, 1978

Political Officer of the Australian Embassy accompanied
by Australian immigration officials and an Australian
Health Department doctor, December 25-30, 1978

1979

Mr. J. W. Talbot, Secretary General of the New Zealand Red Cross Society, January 1-3, 1979

Political Counselor of the Australian Embassy, January 27-29, 1979

Political Counselor of the Australian Embassy, March 14-16, 1979

Political and Development Officers of the Canadian Embassy, April 25-29, 1979

US Ambassador, September 5-10, 1979, accompanied by the Deputy Director of the Office of Disaster Assistance and the USAID Director in Jakarta

Peter Rodgers, Sydney Morning Herald; Bob Mantri, Netherlands Press Association; and Ingo Hertel, Reuters, October 1979

Moriteru Konoe, International Relations Director, Japan Red Cross, November 3-6, 1979

Political Officer of the Australian Embassy, November 11-14, 1979

Voluntary Organization and Food for Peace Officers of the US Embassy-Jakarta, November 24-December 19, 1979

John A. Callecott, UPI; Laurent Mossu, Figaro; Oho W. Gobius, Elsevier (Dutch); Lena Hellkwist, Swedish Red Cross; Ernst Burkart, Deutsche Presse Agentur; David Watts, London Times and BBC; Robert Hendrik Kroon, De Telegraaf; Gerard Trebert, Televisi Radio Omroep Stichting; Pietter Laag, Televisi Radio Omroep Stichting, December 10-13, 1979

Jean Claude Marti, ICRC Delegate, December 1979 (one week visit, exact dates uncertain)

Mr. I. G. Stubbings, Secretary General of the Australian Red Cross and Mr. Werner Christie, Norwegian Red Cross, December 11-14, 1979

Mr. Haunschild of Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung - December 1979

1980

Congressman John T. Meyers, January 12-13, 1980
accompanied by two Congressional staff members and
members of the US Embassy staff

Congressman Lester Wolff and Henry Hyde, January 13, 1980
accompanied by US Ambassador Masters

Henry Kamm, New York Times, January 12-16, 1980

Defense Attaches of Australia, New Zealand and the
ASEAN countries, January 21-22, 1980

Rudolf Jackli, ICRC, and Jean De Courtin, ICRC Delegate
General for Asia and the Pacific, January 25-27, 1980

Mr. Klaus Figge, Radio Baden Baden Station, Germany,
February 1980

Armondo Sonagerre and John Donnelly, CRS-New York,
March 7-10, 1980

Political Officer of the US Embassy, March 7-17, 1980

David Jenkins, Far East Economic Review; Gafur Fadyl,
Associated Press; and Werner Schoch, Tages Anzeiger
of Zurich, April 1980

Ambassador of Australia accompanied by the Political
Counselor of the Australian Embassy, May 19-23, 1980

Paul F. Gardner, American Embassy Deputy Chief of Mission,
accompanied by USAID Officer, Bernard J. Salvo,
May 26-29, 1980

Mr. Michele Honorine, Mr. Ducourier, Mr. Bacarin, Television
Team from RDF, Paris, France, May 27-June 1980